

ISSN 0950 5229

VANGUARD

JULY 1987

50 p

ISSUE No.10



**BRITAIN - UNITED
OR DEFEATED ?**

VANGUARD

ISSN 0950 - 5229

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EDITORIAL

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BRITAIN UNITED OR DEFEATED

THE North-South Divide has become one of the cliches of post-Election British politics. Virtually every political commentator drew attention to the fact that the South of England and the Midlands are increasingly Tory dominated while the North of England and Scotland galloped towards Labour.

Yet this was not the only divide. Even within the relatively politically and geographically compact area of Wales there is a growing North-South Divide - support for Plaid Cymru being substantial in the North, but still insignificant in the South.

And Ulster, with different parties and issues, effectively fought its own separate General Election.

So is Britain one nation anymore? And is British Nationalism, founded on a belief in the common interests of all British peoples, a relevant creed today?

On the face of it the problems of people living in various parts of Britain are so different that they have nothing in common with one another.

What has an old lady living in fear in an English 'inner city' area like Brixton or Handsworth got in common with a beleaguered Loyalist living in a Republican area of Belfast?

What have either of them got in common with unemployed workers in Scotland or Tyneside? Or with the Gaelic speaking Welshman worried about the continuing erosion of the Welsh language and culture?

SELFISH APPROACH

Superficially their problems seem totally unconnected, so perhaps its not surprising that so many people have a narrow selfish approach to politics. Yet deeper thought shows there is a connection - the problems of our old and unemployed, the physical threat to our people in Ulster, the threat to our cultural inheritance stem, at root, from a common cause: for too long Establishment policies and Establishment politicians have prevailed over those of British Nationalism.

A Nationalist Britain would not have let millions of coloured immigrants swamp our major cities, making the remaining Britons - often the old and poor who were unable to move - foreigners in their own land.

A Nationalist Britain would not have allowed its industrial base to be dismantled piece by piece, for the benefit solely of international capitalism. Time and time again factories have been shut down in Britain, especially in the so-called peripheral areas, only to be located on the Continent.

A Nationalist Britain would have made clear its resolute determination that Ulster should remain a part of the British nation. Instead the weakness of successive governments has encouraged the IRA in their belief that if they kill and bomb and maim for long enough the British Government will surrender Ulster to them.

A Nationalist Britain would be a country militantly opposed to the destructive influences of cosmopolitanism. The survival and revival of the indigenous languages, customs and heritage throughout Britain is, after all, one of the primary goals of Nationalism.

The ills afflicting modern Britain will not be solved piecemeal: those who worry only about the problems that face them are not only being selfish, they are being foolish. Only when the people of Britain unite behind the banner of radical Nationalism can there be real change, real progress in this country.

IN THE RED

MILLIONS of pounds of pensioners and trades unionists money has been lost following the financial collapse of the *News On Sunday* after just eight issues.

An anti-British outlook is nothing new in the newspaper industry, but what set *News On Sunday* apart from all the others was its blatant and 'over the top' support for the likes of the IRA. Whilst the rest of the media content themselves with permanently slighting and misrepresenting the Loyalist cause the *News* would openly take the side of the IRA against the British army.

Not surprisingly this alienated even the most naive newspaper reader: consequently the paper has headed rapidly for the rocks.

As a result almost £7 million were lost in the first two months of publication, with much of the money lost having come from the pension funds operated by hard-left Labour councils. Camden council, in North London, for example lost £250,000 - yet this is a small part of the £20 million of its employee's pension funds that it regularly puts at risk, by 'investing' in projects that will give a political return to the council, rather than a financial return to its pensioned-off employees. A number of trade unions, notably the TGWU and AEU also squandered their members hard earned funds in the venture.

NEWS ON SUNDAY WHO LOST WHAT	
The top 12 investors	
GUINNESS MAHON NOMINEES	£719,750
TGWU	£550,000
WOLVERHAMPTON COUNCIL	£300,000
SOUTHWARK COUNCIL	£300,000
DERBYSHIRE COUNCIL	£260,000
AEU	£250,000
NALGO	£250,000
LAMBETH COUNCIL	£250,000
BRENT COUNCIL	£250,000
CLEVELAND COUNCIL	£250,000
HARINGEY COUNCIL	£250,000
LOTHIAN COUNCIL	£200,000

Losers: where the money went

Fortunately hapless British workers and pensioners aren't the only ones to suffer from the demise of *News On Sunday*. A number of 'star names', bourgeois trendy-left Labour supporters with more money than sense, were persuaded to back the venture.

Actress Julie Christie (1,000 shares), author Ken Follet (10,000 shares) and impresario Oscar Lewinstein (1,000 shares) must now be sadder, but probably none the wiser, as result of their experiences.

Tin's Silver Lining

REMEMBER how the price of tin halved after wheeling and dealing on the now defunct International Tin Council? Men in grey suits making money buying and selling tin that hadn't even been dug out of the ground yet! Plenty of Cornish tin miners do; they lost their jobs when the mines closed as a result of it!

It's not that we don't need the metal anymore, we do. It's not that the tin miners were the get rich quick johnnies who got what they deserve, they aren't and they didn't. Tin mining in Britain is not a new industry, it's been mined in Cornwall since iron age times, and we were trading the metal with the Phoenicians and the Romans amongst others.

Since the mines have gone broke because of the drop in price we're buying it from the Bolivians. They can afford to sell it cheaply - the conditions under which the mostly illiterate Indians work amount basically to enforced slavery. Any bolshie backchat about unions or health and safety gets sorted out informally; at gunpoint.

Of course if the peasants really don't like working underground, halving their life expectancy, they can always slink off into the jungle and grow cocaine for the drug barons, who then sell it to those city whiz kids who shove thousands of pounds worth up their

noses for short-lived highs, (the peasants share is a fraction of a penny per sniff). The Cornish tin miner can always stay at home baking pasties for the tourists by the same token we suppose.

It's not all gloom and despondancy though. According to *The Law* magazine some 35 lucky lawyers are getting a slice of the action as the whole sordid story of futures gambling in the tin market is sorted out in the High Court. Each lawyer will be receiving around £10,000 in brief fees as well as a fee payment of around £1,000 per day.

It's nice to know that capitalism works for some isn't it.

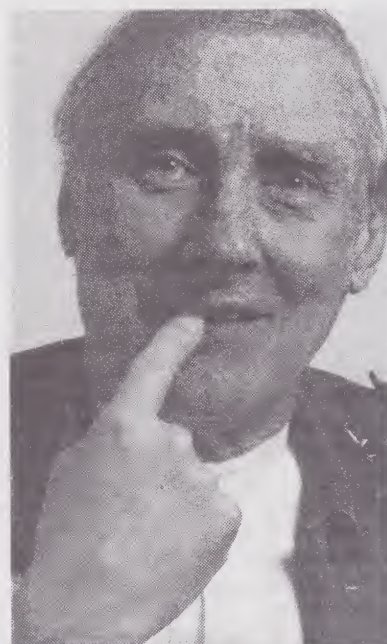
Tory Wet?

POLITICAL indoctrination starts young in today's Tory Party. Danny Woolridge was registered as a member of the Conservatives, in Gravesend, Kent recently at the age of five - five days!

Admittedly he won't be any different from any other Young Conservative - after all he spends most of the time crying, whimpering and wetting his underwear.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

No Goon!



"THESE days a true ethnic heritage is hard to find. To what, and to whom do we owe allegiance? In the multiracial world we now have, with the increase in, for instance, black sportsmen appearing in our football teams, it's not impossible that the entire England team could consist of black players. So these days we tread a fine line as to which race we belong to, and to which country.

I remember meeting a red headed, green-eyed man in a Sydney bar, who said his name was Patrick O'Brien. When he said he was Australian, I wanted to tell him that, like the USA, Australia is the name of a company, and he was an employee. Ethnically he was Irish, and his existence was due to his being carried in the loins of Irishmen since the coming of the Irish.

Unless we recognise our ethnic origin, patriotism doesn't make sense."

Spike Milligan

Britain's Scientists - For Export Only

"THE BRITISH are coming!" was the headline in a major American university newspaper at the beginning of 1987. The reference was to the large, and rapidly increasing number of British scientists who leave Britain for the States each year.

Each year the crisis in British research drives thousands of our top scientists abroad. Consequently Britain's reputation is no longer for first-rate science, but for training excellent scientists and then driving them abroad because of low funding, dwindling morale and lack of opportunity in UK university laboratories.

British scientists excel in vital fields such as genetics, biochemistry, medicine and artificial intelligence, yet poor funding for research work, and uncertainty about how long even this funding will continue, has led to a collapse of morale within Britain's scientific community.

Even among the Fellows of the Royal Society, the nation's most distinguished scientists, the outlook is bleak: over 21% of the Society's fellowship of over 1,000 now live and work overseas. While there are 90 Royal Society Fellows now in the US the number of American equivalents, members of the National Academy of Sciences, in Britain is currently a meagre two.

The relatively poor pay and conditions suffered by scientists working in the UK is part of the reason, but the principal cause for disaffection is the limited opportunities for research facilities and equipment, here in the UK. Tory cuts in funding have, of course,

played a large part in the decline.

The University Grants Commission, which funds basic research, has cut its financial support by 11% since 1981. Treasury forecasts show that funding for research councils will be cut even further - despite a 20% pa 'technological inflation' rate.

Professor Sir George Porter recently described the condition of British science, commenting *'The situation is critical and very nearly irreversible'*. So what can stop the rot? Nationalist answers to the problem are fourfold:-

- Restore morale by giving a long-term commitment to research funding, so that contract staff can plan ahead for a number of years.

- Expand education by substantially

increasing the numbers of mathematics and science teachers in British schools by the end of the century.

- Fund quality research. Lack of funds has meant that many research councils have not been able to back the so-called 'alpha' research projects. Little more than £100 million a year is required - a modest sum by Government standards, and it would essentially be an investment rather than an expense.

- Stimulate industrial R & D by introducing a scheme of targeted tax incentives like those introduced by our competitors, including the USA. At present the percentage of national wealth invested in civil R & D is around 1.6% - compared with around 3% in Germany and Japan.

Quango Chutney

A FEW years ago, Margaret Thatcher promised a crusade against quangos on the grounds that they were a waste of taxpayers' money. Yet, it seems, they are still flourishing quite happily under her care.

Anyone who doubts this would do well to go to Her Majesty's Stationary Office and acquire a copy of the recently-published *Public Bodies* (a snip at eight quid). As one leafs through the pages a wonderful world unfolds before one's eyes.

For example, one can marvel at such exotic specimens as the Advisory Panel on the Importation of Sexually Explicit Films for Health Purposes, a Health Department quango which spent £4,000 last year.

Meanwhile, in the Foreign Office's murky reptile house lurks the small and apparently timid Government Hospitality Fund Advisory Committee for the Purchase of Wine. This has three members and an annual budget of £1,000.

It seems that there are still cosy little jobs for those who curry favour - a sort of quango chutney!



The Emperor's New Clothes

WALTER WRISTON, former chairman of Citicorp, the biggest US bank, used to reassure those who took a gloomy view of the impact of the debt crisis on banks by telling them that countries, unlike companies, did not go bust. However, what he tended to overlook, or perhaps preferred to ignore, was that countries do stop repaying their debts.

It is ironic therefore that it was John Reed, Mr Wriston's chosen successor, who decided in May to face up to reality by announcing that Citicorp was increasing its bad debt provisions for Third World loans by three billion dollars to five billion dollars. The cost to Citicorp is a two-and-a-half billion dollar loss in the second quarter - the biggest ever from a US bank and Citicorp's first loss since the Great Depression.

The move is an open admission by the largest international bank that many of its loans to big developing countries, totalling 14.8 billion dollars, are worth considerably less than 100 cents in the dollar. Put another way, one of the key players in the debt crisis has suddenly turned round and admitted that the emperor has got no clothes - a 'naked truth' which the National Front alone has maintained all along.

However Citicorp's move has important consequences for the rest of the international banking community, including the British banks.

Assessing the value of a bank loan, especially one to a country like Brazil or Mexico, is a highly subjective affair. But it has been abundantly clear to many bankers and

economists for some time that banks have been carrying developing country loans in their books at unrealistically high values.

The need to preserve confidence in the international financial system - which is, after all, nothing but a huge confidence trick - has deterred bankers or loan supervisors from admitting this too openly. Instead banks, under pressure from their supervisors, have been buying time by using the breathing space afforded by the various rescue packages and rescheduling for debtor countries.

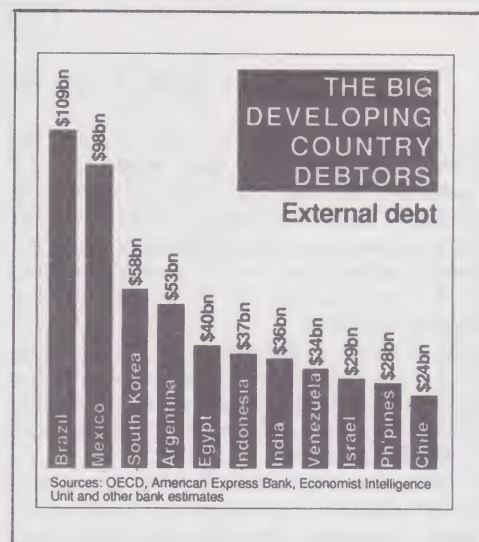
This buying of time has been going on since the crisis first exploded with Mexico's debt moratorium in 1982. In short, the banks were living on borrowed time and Citicorp were merely the first to realise that the time was running out.

The timing of Citicorp's move had a lot to do with the gloomy prospects for the debtor countries. There is a general feeling that the situation is still worsening. It is certainly not improving.

Brazil, the biggest developing country debtor, suspended interest payments in February on the 68 billion dollars of debt it owes to commercial banks. Citicorp alone has lent Brazil 4.6 billion dollars.

WORSENING

Meanwhile, the economic prospects for the debtor countries have been worsening. The International Monetary Fund and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development have both revised down their forecasts for world growth this year to



around the bottom end of the range generally viewed as necessary to contain the debt crisis. Furthermore, US interest rates have been edging up, increasing the burden for developing countries of servicing their debts.

As we have said, the international financial system is a gigantic confidence trick. As such, as soon as confidence in it collapses the whole system will come tumbling down. Just like the fable in which the little boy sees through the emperor's new clothes, the debtor countries must see the naked truth that the international banks also have no clothes with which to cover their massive Third World commitments.

Once this naked truth is exposed the Nations of the world will at last be free from the shackles of international finance.



Facing up to reality; the New York Stock Exchange, Citicorp's chairman John Reed, and Brazil, the biggest debtor.

THE COMMON MARKET: Half a Million Reasons for Getting Out!

A MAJOR STUDY, published in May, challenges the wisdom of Common Market agricultural policy. It claims that existing agricultural arrangements make us poorer than we would otherwise be, lowering output and incomes and increasing unemployment.

An analysis of the effects of the Common Market agricultural policy, published at the behest of the Australian government, reveals the heavy cost being paid by Britain and other EEC countries.

In fact, the results of the Australian analysis are devastating. Common Market agricultural output increases by 18.3 per cent, and agricultural exports by an extraordinary 155 per cent. Yes, as the diagram shows, overall output, employment and incomes in Common Market countries are considerably lower than they would have been without the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Manufacturing production, for example, is 1.7 per cent smaller, and other studies have suggested that real income is 1 per cent less.

DEVASTATING

Translated into hard figures for this country, the study indicates that, in 1986 prices, manufacturing output would have been £3.1 billion greater and service output £5.8 billion greater without the CAP. These are devastating figures in the light of recent debates about the decline of Britain's manufacturing base and the effect it has on unemployment.

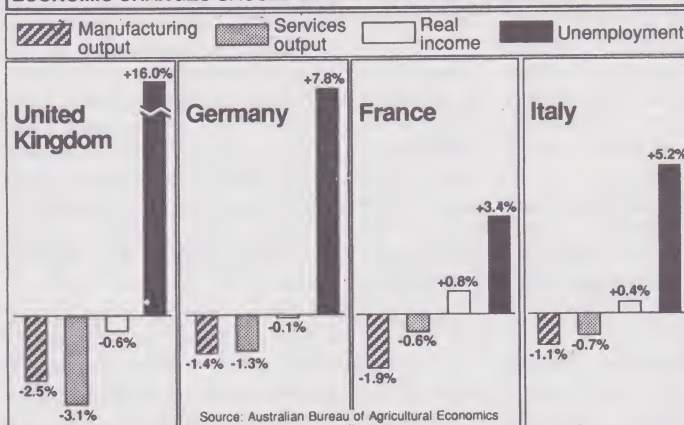
Talking of unemployment, the report estimates that the CAP has cost Common Market countries somewhere in the region of one million jobs. Moreover, the contrast between the "success" of the CAP as measured by agricultural output and the employment consequences of the CAP is starkest in Britain.

Stimulated by the CAP, farm production in Britain rose by no less than half. Yet roughly half of all EEC unemployment attributed to the CAP occurred in this country. Broken down a bit further, if one assumes that three million people are jobless in Britain, of whom around 600,000 would be unemployed even in times of "full employment", the CAP accounts for one-fifth of Britain's unemployment.

The final paradox is that the CAP probably hasn't even helped agricultural employment because it heavily favours big, capital intensive 'agri-businesses' as opposed to smaller, more labour intensive farms.

Meanwhile, as if to rub our noses in the dirt, the EEC commission announced in the same week that the Australian report was published that the Common Market needs an extra £7 billion from member states over the

ECONOMIC CHANGES CAUSED BY THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY



Unemployment on the rise all over Europe thanks to the E.E.C.

next twenty months to stave off bankruptcy.

Announcing the figures, the EEC Budget Commissioner, Henning Christopherson, said the Community had technically become insolvent during May, adding: "We are now in the red and we will continue to be so until a solution is found."

Of course, all these facts and figures beg a very pertinent question. If Common market membership has cost half a million British workers their jobs, why are we now being asked to squander even more money for the 'privilege' of staying in it? More important still, bearing in mind the destruction of both jobs and Britain's manufacturing base caused by EEC membership, why wasn't the Common Market an issue during the General Election?

Returning to the EEC Budget Commissioner's claim that the Common Market will stay in the red "until a solution is found", the National Front has already found a solution to the excessively high market price being charged for Common Market membership. Get Britain out now!

CAP Disaster

FURTHER evidence that the Common Agricultural Policy is an unmitigated disaster came to light in the European Parliament recently. MEPs heard estimates that as much as 10 per cent of the CAP's budget was being lost to fraud.

Heinrich Aigner, the German chairman of the Parliament's important budget control committee, told members that as much as £2.1 billion was disappearing in malpractices every year.

Fraudulent disposal of CAP funds has long been recognised as a serious problem, but only now is the full scale of the cost to the European taxpayer being admitted.

The Not So Free State

IRISH voters surrendered their Nation's sovereignty at the end of May when the electorate voted by 2-1 to approve the Single European Act.

The formal ratification of the Act by the Irish referendum means that it will be implemented from 1 July, and will allow the dismantling of 300 non-tariff trade barriers by the twelve member states.

Not surprisingly, the Irish vote was welcomed by the Jacques Delors, president of the EEC Commission.

He said the time for discussion was over. The Community must move to implement "the relaunch of the European

economy through the completion of the internal market by 1992, so that the citizens of Europe can look with optimism to the future in a community which transcends national frontiers".

In practice, the Single European Act will give the European Parliament even more powers and will lead to further erosion of the powers of the national governments of both Britain and Ireland. Furthermore, the further elimination of trade barriers will strip Britain and Ireland of their rights to protect their home economies from unfair foreign competition in Europe.

In short, for Britain and Ireland alike the acceptance of European integration is the surrender of National Freedom.

INDUSTRIAL OWNERSHIP

THE ORIGINS OF DISTRIBUTISM

IN THE PAST ten years there has burgeoned a whole set of ideas which might be summed up in the two words "Green Politics". These ideas are not new, and in their re-vamped presentation by the "ecologists" are spiked with scientism, socialism and food-faddism.

What is sound and true in Green Politics has its origins in a book published in the early Seventies, *Small Is Beautiful* by Fritz Schumacher. The book in fact began as an essay entitled *Chestertonian Economics* - Chesterton's economics were Distributism.

Distributism was the result of the coalescence of several elements - Catholic, artistic, literary and the Romantic Revival. The chief Catholic contribution was the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII. It examined both Capitalism and Socialism and rejected them. Instead it held up the ideal of a Proprietary Society.

"We have seen that this great labour question cannot be solved save by assuming as a principle that private ownership must be held sacred and inviolable . . . If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the gulf between vast wealth and sheer poverty can be bridged and the respective classes will be brought nearer to each other. A further consequence will be the greater abundance of the fruits of the earth. Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which belongs to them . . . Men would cling to the country of their birth, for no one would exchange his country for a foreign land if his own afforded him the means of living a decent happy life."

Rerum Novarum put into formal language what many felt in their hearts, and the heart of Distributism is to be found in a cultural movement which was both widespread and potent. It began with the reaction to the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions led by William Cobbett in books, pamphlets and his weekly *Register*. Contemporary with Cobbett's attack in the social field was the onslaught of Romanticism in the artistic and literary fields against the self-styled "Enlightenment" which had determined the form of industrialization. The re-discovery of the Medieval achievement resulted in a hostility toward the Renaissance - Ruskin wrote of "*The pure poison of Raphael*" - and it was this antagonism which produced one of the most important cultural movements of the Nineteenth century - **Pre-Raphaelitism**.

Pre-Raphaelitism gave rise to the first action which could be described as "Distributist". Ruskin withdrew to the Lakes to form the "Gild of St. George," which sought to preserve crafts and proprietorship and which culminated at the turn of the century in the launching of the *New Age* and

Gild Socialism by A.R. Orage. The catalyst which brought all these elements, religious, literary, social and cultural together as "Distributism" was the partnership of two men of genius, G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc.

Belloc's chief contribution to Distributism was that he presented the case in the economists' own terms. The great disputes of history are unresolved because they are conducted on different planes; linguistically protagonist and antagonist never meet; they by-pass each other. Belloc forced the enemy to give battle. In *The Servile State* and the *Essay On Distributism*, he took the terminology of classical Economics and built from it a logical case for Distributism as the foundation of freedom.

GEOFFREY FLEETWOOD examines the historical origins of the system of industrial ownership known as Distributism.

"If we do not restore the Institution of Property, we cannot escape restoring the Institution of Slavery; there is no third course."

Belloc's view may be summarized as follows:

The social objective must be to ensure distribution among a majority of the families of the Nation of ownership of productive property.

Law and custom must defend small property against acquisitive wealth.

The making of things is not simply an "economic" activity as Marxists and Capitalists maintain, but a human activity, the extension of the personality of the maker, whose integrity is expressed in skill.

That men are socialized by their National community into their human identity, and both Imperialism and Inter-nationalism are pathogenic to the Nation.

G.K. Chesterton was educated at the Slade in the after-glow of Pre-Raphaelitism. Belloc was a classicist, his Augustan prose restoring the purity of English diction. Chesterton belonged to the High-Romance. Belloc had served as an artillery man in the French Army; his books and essays laid down a withering barrage on the enemy positions which the light cavalry of Chesterton's wit finished off. Their partnership began on *The Eyewitness* founded by G.K.'s brother Cecil, which exposed the Marconi affair and which was Pro-Boer, not because, like the Liberals, the "Chesterbelloc" thought war was always wrong, but because they

maintained that the Boers were right to fight for their little farmer-Republics against International Finance and the Gold Interest.

Whilst Belloc presented the case for Distributism in closely argued monographs - *The Servile State*, *The Party System*, *The Free Press* etc., Chesterton presented it in fantastic fiction - *Tales Of The Long Bow*, *The Return Of Don Quixote*, *The Napoleon of Notting Hill*, and *The Man Who Was Thursday*.

The latter parodies the busy-body state with the supreme council of the Anarchists - "The Council Of Seven" - composed entirely of Secret Service infiltrators who all spy on each other. In *The Napoleon of Notting Hill*, Chesterton presents the case for political distributism - the smaller the genuine political unit the nearer we are to self-determination of the individual.

As the ideas labelled "Distributism" clarified, the title of *The Eyewitness* was changed to *The New Witness* which continued publication until the post 1918 period. However during that great genetic tragedy Cecil Chesterton fell. He was the businessman of the group and without him the paper failed.

Chesterton and Belloc continued to expound their ideas in Orage's *New Age* and it was in this journal that Distributism and Social Credit first met. *The New Statesman* was launched by the Fabians to drive *The New Age* to the wall, and in this it succeeded. Chesterton therefore determined to launch his own paper and movement and G.K.'s *Weekly* and the *Distributist League* were formed.

Chesterton's untimely death in 1936 brought G.K.'s *Weekly* to an end, but the League continued throughout the 1939-45 war, publishing *The Weekly Review*. In the after-war period newspapers failed one by one, and the weekly paper was replaced first by a monthly called *The Register* and then by a quarterly *The Distributist* which finally folded in 1958.

In 1953 however, G.K.'s cousin, A.K. Chesterton, the founder of the National Front, had launched *Candour* which among other interests continued to keep the flag flying for Distributism, and which is still published.

The low and dishonest decade of the 'Sixties with its strange mixture of Marxist superstition and inane consumerism had no time for the ideas Distributism advocated. The anti-heroes of *Lucky Jim* and *Room At The Top* who slithered all over the carcass of Britain, once Great, could expect no percentage from ideals, and met them with blank incomprehension.

Yet somehow the thing itself had been absorbed into the National Consciousness, to spring to new life in the 'Eighties, catalysed by Schumacher's book. The significance of Distributism is the vision of freedom and dignity based upon proprietorship which it held before a century rushing to ruin.

That vision can be the reality of tomorrow. All that is necessary is that men desire it.

Memories of the Falklands

PETER TAYLOR



I HAVE SERVED in the Falklands three times, each time lasting four months. My first trip was on the merchant vessel *St Edmund*, later re-named H.M.S. *Kerren*, a converted ferry which was being used as a troop carrier. We had on board 1,000 troops mainly from 1 Squadron R.A.F., but there were also Royal Marines and some Gurkhas.

We were accompanied on the journey across the South Atlantic by the container ship, *Bezant*, which held the aircraft - five harriers for 1 Squadron R.A.F.

The ships' only defence were six general purpose machine guns and the "blowpipe" which was meant to knock out any Exocet missiles targetted for the ship. However, the "blowpipe" wasn't the most reassuring of weapons since after the loud explosion which accompanied it being fired there would be a splash in the sea only about fifty yards from the ship!

We reached the total exclusion zone which was an imaginary line 200 miles around the Falklands brought about by our forces to keep any unwanted visitors away. We would wait for days in the tug relief and logistics area waiting for the next move.

I was especially proud when we first arrived in the area and all the Royal Navy ships closed in on us because we had mail for them. There we were all steaming along together united in the task ahead.

We finally received word to steam in and drop our troops off as quickly as possible. We went in under escort of HMS *Brilliant* but had to return shortly after as news had come in about what was to be the last Argentine air attack when *Sir Galahad* and *Sir Tristram* were hit.

We heard about the troops moving in on Port Stanley with great satisfaction and relief that it would soon be over. It was only after the Argentine surrender that we found out that our troops could not have sustained the pressure on Stanley for much longer because supplies were running short.

The Argentinians surrendered and our ship moved into Port Stanley waters three days after. It was a strange experience being there. It was still dark and I could just recognise all the ships in the distance and make out the form of Port Stanley as fires blazed on the horizon.

Argentine uniforms were burned and the prisoners were like ants being marched towards the centre of Stanley. The ships' horns were being blown as if in respect for the dead.

It took me around a week to get into Port Stanley for a look around as only very few were allowed ashore due to the large number of mines which the Argentinians had laid.

We had a look around the buildings first. The police station had been ripped in half by a shell and a pub had been burnt down. The streets were full of troops while the houses were full of Union Jacks proudly displayed in the windows.

After a while a friend and I decided to have a look around the outskirts for souvenirs. We found some Argentine dug-outs and collected helmets, bayonets, belts and boots in Argentine kit-bags. Everything was just as they had left it and the dug-outs were strewn with cartridges and hand grenades still hung up to the roof. We found some books with details on the conscripts and decided it was time to go.

On the way back we came across a barbed wire fence which we thought was stopping us entering a mined area. It was only when we had returned to the ship and handed the books to the intelligence officer that we found out that it had been a mined area we were rooting in.

As time went on we waited for a decision on the last five hundred Argentine prisoners. The Argentinians would not say that hostilities had ended so we did not know whether the prisoners should be taken to Argentina or Uruguay.

Our ship received the last five hundred prisoners and they struggled off from the



Peter Taylor, second from left, being welcomed by Falkland Islanders.

Examining the wreck of an Argentinian Mirage. The author is a member of the Leeds Branch of the NF.



helicopters, slipping on the ice on the flight deck. They were exhausted but still a few of them had defiant expressions. They all slept on the car deck, except General Menendez who got a cabin.

Eventually we got a decision that the prisoners were to go to Montevideo in Uruguay.

BACK AGAIN

Our tour of duty was soon over but before long I was back again, this time on the R.F.A. *Fort Grange*.

While I was on this trip I decided to go on a walk from San Carlos to Port Stanley across East Falkland. This took four days and was the original route taken by our troops on their march to Stanley.

It was a rough walk as the grass was in clumps and there were no tracks. Every so often ankles would get twisted. This sort of terrain persisted all the way and the climate changed so often with hailstones and howling winds one minute and sunshine the next. The closer we got to Stanley the more numerous the war wreckage and we looked around tanks and the remains of crashed aircraft.

It came as a great relief when we finally reached Stanley and it made me realise how tough it had been for our troops to do the same and know there was a battle at the end of it instead of a warm bed.

My third and final trip was on the R.A.F. *Reliant* and this time I had the chance to walk across West Falkland. This trip also took four days. We were dropped off near Port Howard and ended up at Roy Cove settlement. This time there were tracks to follow and this expedition was made in the Falklands summer which surprisingly seemed even hotter than our own.

Everyone seems to think of the Falklands as cold (probably because the conflict took place in the winter) but it can get very hot as their weather is extreme compared to ours.

We also had the chance to stop at a shanty on this trip, which is an unoccupied building used by the Falklands Islanders when moving their sheep from one place to another. Anyone may use them and they offer the comfort of a bed for the night and good shelter. Best night's sleep I've ever had!

WRECKAGE

We found the wreckage of an enemy plane on this walk which had thrown pieces of the aircraft as far as a mile away. On finding the main wreckage we saw a Star of David underneath the paintwork (say no more!)

When we reached our destination at Roy Cove we were greeted by one of the islanders on a horse. He offered to have us all put up for the night and his family put me up. They made an excellent lamb stew. They spoke about the conflict and said the Argentinians had been good to them, offering them all a television service. They also told us that the Argentinians were very frightened when they first heard about the Task Force departing. They told me they had nothing against the Argentinians but, above all, they were certainly proud to be British.

RELIGION and POLITICS

TOWARDS A UNITED ULSTER

IT IS customary for British people on the mainland to divide the people of Northern Ireland into two distinct groups. On the one side there are the "British-Protestant-Loyalists" and on the other side there are the "Irish-Catholic-Republicans".

Once the two sides are conveniently contained in these nice, neat compartments they are told by Westminster to "stay in your ghetto until we devise a fancy devolution with sectarian checks and balances".

The problem arises, however, when one comes to realise that many people in Ulster don't fit into this "either-or" stereotype.

Before and since the Reformation, Plantation and Partition, there has always been a distinct Ulster identity. From Cuchulainn to Carson, from the Red Branch to the Red Hand, Ulster has always been different. In ancient times, lake and bog and earthwork separated her from southern kingdoms and provinces. Meanwhile, Scotland has always been near, accessible and even visible.

In June 1892, a Unionist Convention met in Belfast. Catholics were jointly responsible for organising the meeting and Catholic priests were on the platform.

In 1893, a petition against the second Home Rule Bill was sponsored in Ireland by six Catholic Peers and 36 Catholic commoners. Many thousands of Catholics signed the petition at the risk of their lives - a still familiar tale as can be gauged by the IRA's murder campaign against Catholic members of the UDR and RUC.

'NO SURRENDER'

One Ulster Catholic signatory of the 1893 petition was a Mr E. O'Ryan of Larne Harbour, who declared that "rather than submit" they should be prepared for the worst and ready, if need be, to die with the words "No surrender on our lips".

In 1907, the Ulster Unionist Council commended Denis Henry, the Catholic and Unionist MP for Londonderry (1916-1921) as a "a most faithful and exceptionally able defender of Unionist policy". Sir Denis served as an Irish Law Officer, becoming, after Partition, the first Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland.

Neither are these comparatively rare exceptions. In General Elections held between 1929 and 1965 to the Northern Ireland House of Commons, the anti-Partitionist candidates received only 14.6 per cent of the votes, which was two-fifths of the total Roman Catholic proportion.

Furthermore, Unionist candidates ran close to securing an absolute majority of the total electorate in the Catholic-majority counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone and Londonderry.

From these facts we may reasonably deduce that nearly every Protestant, and

nearly every second Catholic, rejects the Republic. But even Father Denis Faul goes further. In the *Irish Times* of 22 November, 1984, he said: "If there was a secret referendum conducted by the British and it was put to Catholics to decide about an end to the Border within three or six months, I believe only about 20 per cent would vote for a United Ireland. The rest would not. They would just not want it."

Coupled with Father Faul's prediction about the attitudes of many Ulster Catholics to the South, there is a growing enmity developing by many southern Catholics towards their co-religionists in the North. Many people in the Republic view Ulster Catholics as a people apart from themselves, at least as distinct as the Scots are from the English if not more so.

Of course, none of this is to deny that very real religious differences still exist in Ulster, nor that sectarianism is rife, nor that many Catholics do hold Republican views. What it does indicate, however, is the danger inherent in seeing the struggle in Ulster in the form of over-simplified stereotypes. The fact is that many Ulster Catholics are as opposed to the terrorism and aims of the IRA as are their Protestant counterparts. What is more, if the British Government showed the political will and military muscle required to smash the IRA, many more Ulster Catholics would have the courage to come out and say so. Then, and only then, will Ulstermen, Protestant and Catholic alike, be free to forge a destiny fit for their Nation!

Sales League

THE TOP TWENTY sales areas for No.9 of *Vanguard* were as follows:-

1. LAMBETH
2. LEEDS
3. NEWHAM
4. Birmingham
5. Haringey
6. Devon
7. Croydon
8. Brighton
9. Newcastle
10. Norwich
11. Kent
12. Portsmouth
13. Cheshire & Wirral
14. Richmond
15. South Africa
16. Coventry
17. Doncaster
18. Worthing
19. Slough
20. Bristol

Why The NF Supports Loyal Ulster

THE NATIONAL FRONT is the only British mainland political party which has always unwaveringly stood by the Ulster Loyalists. For over twenty years our Party has campaigned, and our members have faced violent assault, arrest and media vilification, in defence of British Ulster. No other nationwide political organisation has done as much for so long. Why do we do it?

After all, it's not as though, in many areas, the NF got anything out of backing the Loyalists. In most areas of the mainland, Ulster is regarded by most of the public, including many who otherwise agree with us, as at best an irrelevant bore and at worst a positive nuisance, and Ulster's sufferings as merely the incomprehensible self-inflicted savageries of obscure bands of rival religious fanatics, "Irish cranks" living in the 17th Century which the rest of Britain would be better off without.

The NF's Loyalist stance gains us nothing amongst such an electorate. Indeed, it loses us some support among Britons of, often rather remote, Irish descent who retain an inherited antagonism toward "Orange bigots", despite being otherwise sound racially-conscious patriots.

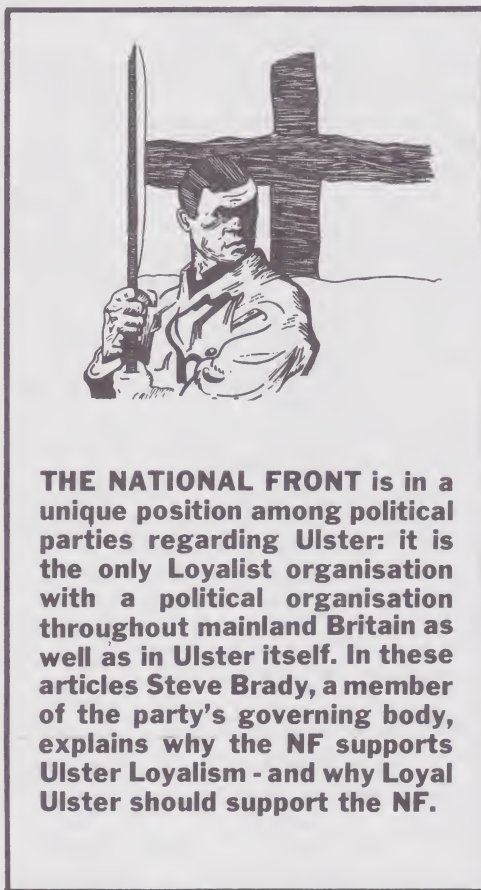
Corresponding support from Ulster Loyalists can only be won by the NF in much more restricted areas - on the mainland only Merseyside and Central Scotland - and in Ulster, where Loyalism already has long-established and effective political outlets. Elsewhere it is not a question of mobilising Loyalists in support of Ulster. In the case of much of our public support, often an uphill task.

SELFISH

So the NF certainly isn't in the Ulster Loyalist struggle for itself. From a selfish, cynical and short-sighted viewpoint our Party would be better off ditching Ulster altogether. No, we are in the Ulster Loyalist struggle not for ourselves but for Ulster, and in the wider view Britain. We stand by Ulster not because it is useful but because it is right.

It is right to stand by Ulster in principle because Ulster is British, part of our country, her people bonded indissolubly to the rest of us by a sacred bond of blood and of honour. On battlefield after battlefield, in war after war, Ulstermen have laid down their lives willingly for Britain. Most of those battles were not Ulster's battles, most of those wars were not Ulster's wars.

Ulster could, as in the last war the Irish Republic did, stand aloof and refuse to take part in "England's quarrel". But she did not. For to Ulster, Britain's fight was and is Ulster's fight. That many a young Ulsterman fell in the fight, and returned no more to the green glens of Antrim, the grey streets of Belfast,



THE NATIONAL FRONT is in a unique position among political parties regarding Ulster: it is the only Loyalist organisation with a political organisation throughout mainland Britain as well as in Ulster itself. In these articles Steve Brady, a member of the party's governing body, explains why the NF supports Ulster Loyalism - and why Loyal Ulster should support the NF.

and the rolling meadows of County Down, Ulster's people did not grudge.

Nor does Ulster ask recompense. To die that one's nation may live is the ultimate duty of every member of every nation, and British Ulstermen have ever been ready and proud to fulfill that duty for their nation, our nation. They did so as a duty, not a bribe. They do not say that we should, if need be, die for them as they died for us. For all of us, in Ulster's eyes, die for one nation, for Britain.

They would, though, perhaps say that we should be as ready to defend Britain in the streets of Londonderry and the bushes of Tyrone as they were to defend her in the trenches of the Somme. And they are right.

In our honour and our pride and our patriotism, can we in the NF betray them? We, at least, stand by our countrymen, however unpopular. And far from despising them honour a patriotism as firmly rooted as any in our islands. Would that the spirit of the

Somme lived on in Birmingham or Barking as strongly as it does in Ballymena or Banbridge.

But we support the Ulster Loyalists in principle not just because they are British but because they are right. For no people, British or otherwise, should be dragged away from their own country and forcibly enslaved by another. Which is what Irish Republicans would do to Ulster. All the misery of foreign conquest and occupation they drunkenly bewail over their beer they wish themselves to inflict upon a million Ulsterfolk.

IRA plans to burn down and destroy Loyalist areas of Belfast and commit atrocities that would make the hardest Black and Tan wince have been discovered. Ireland, having won her own freedom, now seeks to deny that freedom to others, and in so doing to curse herself with Empire.

Finally, we support the Ulster Loyalists in their war for the practical, as well as the principled, reason that it is our war too. The enemy the Ulstermen face is not just their enemy, it is our enemy. And if it is not defeated in Ulster today, it will have to be defeated on the mainland tomorrow.

MARXIST MENACE

For the Provos are, ideologically and organisationally, but one arm of the Marxist multiracialist menace that looms over the White Race round the World. The IRA man blowing up schoolchildren in Belfast, the Black rioter hurling petrol bombs at the Police in Brixton, the ANC thug burning his fellow Blacks alive in Bloemfontein, and the Labour MP cheering all this on in the Commons, are all on the same side.

They realise this - the gable ends of the Falls Road Belfast bear many a Black fist holding aloft a Kalashnikov, many an avowal of solidarity with the ANC and the Blacks on the UK mainland. In return, Darcus Howe, one of Britain's leading Black militants, has proclaimed that "many Blacks in Britain support the IRA".

And Southern African Black terrorist, now Marxist dictator of "Zimbabwe", Robert Mugabe visited the Provos' Seamus Twomey in Andersonstown in February 1976 for "fraternal consultations". Whilst many a Labour MP cheers on Fenian, rioter and "necklacer" alike.

It is time we realised it too, as the NF does, and Ulsterman, British policeman, and Boer stood proudly shoulder to shoulder with NF activist in the common struggle for Race, Nation and Civilisation. The forging of that solidarity, that unity of our Race's friends to match that achieved by our enemies, starts with the NF supporting the Ulster Loyalists. For we, at least, realise that the battle for Britain is being fought today in the leafy lanes of Fermanagh and the hills of South Armagh. And we stand by those who fight for us.

To the Loyalists of Ulster we in the National Front say: "Your fight is our fight, we will never betray you! STAND BY BRITISH ULSTER!"

Why Loyal Ulster Should Support the NF

THE NATIONAL Front supports, and has always supported, the Ulster Loyalists. But why should Loyalists support the NF? After all, to be honest, the NF isn't, by the standards of most Loyalist groups, very big. Our present degree of actual public support, judging by election results, isn't all that impressive either, compared to Loyalist parties in Ulster boasting M.P.'s.

And the NF has enjoyed a pretty dreadful public image, being portrayed in the media as little more than a gang of skinheads and soccer louts, led by sinister neo-Nazis. What earthly use are we to Ulster's Cause? Well, firstly, even if the NF was all the Press say it is, to be quite blunt about it, the NF is also, across most of the UK, the only friend Ulster has got. Certainly the only reliable friend. For all its faults, the NF is the only political party outside the Province which officially supports the Loyalist cause.

The Labour Party differs internally only in the extent to which it is prepared to openly back the Provos, with the exception of its ever-weaker "moderate" wing which supports the Republican SDLP instead.

The SDP/Liberal Alliance backs its wimpish Ulster namesake, the Ulster Alliance Party, whose policies echo those of the chinless idiot Terence O'Neill which caused the Troubles in the first place.

And the Tories, last hope of many an Ulster Official Unionist, have struck blow after blow for the IRA cause. It was the Tories who abolished Ulster's democratic Parliament at Stormont, set up the Sunningdale regime, and it is the Tories who were solely responsible for the Anglo-Irish Agreement, of which Thatcher is personally proud.

Just like the other Establishment parties, the Tories are Ulster's enemies, not her friends. Like the NF or lump us, Loyalists, on the mainland we're all you've got!

ALTERNATIVE

But why not set up a "respectable" alternative? Why not set up a mainland group that is totally Loyalist but has nothing to do with the NF? The first problem is finding mainland Loyalists who do have nothing to do with the NF. Outside Merseyside and central Scotland, there have for many years been few organised Loyalists outside the NF.

There may be Orange Lodges dotted around here and there, but in most cases they might as well be on the Moon for all the effect they have: hardly anyone even in their own immediate area even knows they exist. So Loyalists on the mainland, rightly, join the NF, because it's the only way to fight for Ulster in most of the UK.



Opposing the IRA on the streets

But even if you did keep out the dreaded unrespectable NF, you'd rapidly become just as dreaded and unrespectable yourselves. Because the truth is that Loyalism on the mainland wasn't smeared because of the NF - the NF was smeared because it was Loyalist, or in fact patriotic generally.

It is British patriotism, not the National Front, that is a dirty word in the media.

Whenever Loyalists raise their heads on the mainland, they get all the lies themselves that we get. When 2,000 Orangemen, respectable, impeccably clad in suits and ties, in good order, paraded through London in April 1982, the media mostly ignored them, as they mostly ignore us. Except for the *Daily Mirror* - that captioned a photo of two drunken skinheads, who were not on the march, "Ulster's Orange Bigots come to London".

When 400 "Friends of British Ulster", mostly diehard Tory voters from Merseyside paraded through Bridgewater, Somerset, last autumn they faced exactly the same Red mob, chanting exactly the same abuse - "Nazi scum off our streets!", "Fascists!", "Sieg Heil!" etc. - as the NF gets. And exactly the same Press publicity, "Extremists spark mob riot fury", as we get.

However besuited, de-NF-associated, and "respectabilist" Loyalists may try to be, they will be "Nazi thugs" anyway, in the eyes of the media.

That doesn't mean, as some less intelligent British Nationalists believe, that therefore they should be Nazi thugs. The NF does not want a Nazi dictatorship in Britain - we want more, not less, power in the hands of the British people, including those in Ulster.

But we accept that the media are in the hands of the enemies of Britain, and that they will tell lies about all patriots. Loyalists should realise this - they know that they aren't Nazis and hooligans because they read it in the papers: they should realise that we aren't either. We are going to be smeared anyway because we're British and proud of it. So Loyalists and NF, we've nothing to lose by standing together, and much to gain.

EFFECTIVE

For the NF does have much to offer the Loyalist cause. Firstly we are, throughout most of our land, the most effective people waging it. Pro-Ulster slogans bedeck the walls of Brighton, and Bristol, and Birmingham, and Barking. Who put them there? - the NF.

IRA marchers are physically opposed on the streets of Sheffield, and Birmingham, and London. By whom? - the NF.

Thousands of "Stand by Loyal Ulster" leaflets have been dropping on doormats all over the mainland in the last few months. Who put them there? - the NF.

Ulster's case has been argued, and fought for, all over England, Wales and Scotland for twenty years. Who's been doing it? - the NF.

Who are the biggest, best organised propaganda machine Ulster has got outside the Province? We are - use us!

Secondly, we can mobilise mass support for Ulster outside traditional Loyalist communities. There is no prospect of anyone mobilising the masses of the mainland in the cause of Ulster, except as part of a general awakening of pride in nationhood. That awakening we seek to bring about. And even our enemies admit we could well do it.

Small it may be, but the NF is Ulster's only potential base of mass support outside its own people. And we've got potential.

So Ulster should support the NF because the NF supports Ulster, and no-one else does. And because the reservations some Loyalists have about the NF, its "bad image" and so on, are problems that any Loyalist group active on the mainland will face - to Ulster's enemies, we are all "Nazis, Fascists and thugs", as well as "extremist bigots". We can't escape that, separately or otherwise. But we can overcome it - together. And finally, because the NF actually has done more than anyone else for Ulster in the last twenty years. Given more help from Ulster, we could do more.

Someone must do more, because if Ulster does not win the support of the rest of the British people then, sooner or later, the Union will be broken and Ulster will perish. For Ulster cannot forever stand alone. **We are Ulster's best hope of winning that vital mainland support. Loyalists: join us, and find out for yourselves.**

HILAIRE BELLOC - RADICAL ROMANTIC

JOE PEARCE REVIEWS HILAIRE BELLOC BY A.N. WILSON

FOR YEARS I have been fascinated and influenced profoundly by the writings of the Edwardian radical, Hilaire Belloc. In fact, to be specific, my interest in him dates back to the beginning of the 1980s when Andrew Brons, who was then the NF's Chairman, introduced me to Belloc's masterly *Essay On The Restoration Of Property*. Since then, my almost idolatrous admiration for the man who outlined Distributism so forcefully in that essay has never waned.

Bearing in mind this admiration for Belloc, one will scarcely be surprised at the pleasure I derived from receiving A.N. Wilson's biography of Hilaire Belloc as a Christmas present. Indeed, this pleasure was heightened by the fact that I had coveted this particular biography enviously ever since I'd read reviews of it in several Sunday papers.

This, together with the fact that A.N. Wilson is one of the few modern authors for whom I have any respect, caused me to open the book and digest its contents hungrily. I was not to be disappointed because, as Christopher Booker so correctly observed in his review of the book in the *Sunday Telegraph*, it is "one of those outstanding biographies which have the deeper and wider resonance of a novel . . . a model biography and a marvellous book."

In fact, one gets the distinct impression that A.N. Wilson has taken as much care in presenting the character of Belloc in this biography as he takes in the presentation of the characters in his novels. As such, Belloc comes to life as you leaf through the pages allowing the reader new and exciting insights into what made this larger than life literary figure tick.

DEVASTATION

Thus we learn that the devastation of the Belloc family home near Paris by Prussian troops during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 left an indelible stain on Belloc's character, causing him to dislike and distrust "the Prussian influence" for the rest of his life. This fact was certainly an eye-opener to me since I had always been baffled by the blatantly biased and negative attitude towards Germany which runs through many of Belloc's books.

Another facet of Belloc's persona brought out brilliantly by the biographer is his impulsiveness: "From the beginning of his journalistic career, Belloc manifested . . . an extraordinary inability to settle down to any kind of office routine without leaving, capriciously, for sorties in France."

This impulsiveness may, at first sight, appear to bracket Belloc with the idle rich who have the time and money to saunter off at whim to foreign parts. Such an impression scarcely does him justice. He was in fact never idle



A.N. Wilson

and never rich. On the contrary, he was often over-worked and poor, with the latter state necessitating the former one.

A truer impression of the genuinely romantic nature of Belloc's impulsiveness, can be gauged by what he termed his 'bloody ramble' across America in the 1890s: "He made his way first down to Philadelphia to stay with his cousins the Priestleys . . . The journey from east to west was enormous and expensive. Belloc's funds had almost run out when he set out for California. He made a little by gambling in saloons along his way, down the Ohio river to Cincinnati. But that method of raising cash soon ensured that Belloc became penniless. From then on, he had only his wits, and his hand and his eye, to get him the next meal, as he set out to tramp his way across the United States of America."

Much of the journey had to be

accomplished on foot for lack of a railway ticket along the Denver and Rio Grande, through the deserts and threading odd and deep canyons by way of the railway embankment, seeing trains go by with people in them and sleeping out and trudging on next morning and marvelling at the rocks and the new sights and sleeping in unexpected houses and so on."

The romantic picture conjured up of a solitary Englishman trudging across the deserts and canyons of the 'wild west' in the 1890s, sketching pictures to make money and then gambling in saloons to lose it again, is the type of adventure which western films or fiction are made of.

Yet, truth is stranger than fiction and in Belloc's case it is even more so when one realises that his 'bloody ramble' was no aimless amble but had from the start a definite and noble purpose. His goal was San Francisco where Elodie Hogan, the woman he had met in London nearly a year earlier and had fallen in love with, lived with her parents. Later, he was to marry her and she would return to live with him in Sussex.

Thus it is that A.N. Wilson paints a vivid picture of Belloc the Romantic. Nonetheless, it is to Belloc the Radical that our attention, as Nationalists, must turn.

DOCKERS STRIKE

Belloc's first sortie into politics was inspired by the London Dockers Strike in the autumn of 1889. As an idealistic nineteen-year-old, he was impressed by the socialism of the strike leaders and their supporters. Writing of this strike in *The Cruise Of The Nona* many years later Belloc observed that "it was before the socialist creed had been captured for the sham battle at Westminster. The leaders did desire and did think they could achieve an England in which the poor should be poor no longer."

Paradoxically, London's dockers were finally destroyed, years later, by free trade, the very same force which made them so powerful in 1889. With the demise of the docks there disappeared a special breed of the British working class which was free and independent from, and alienated by, the marxist model of an internationalist working class comprising a proletariat divorced from racial roots and national identity. Indeed, it is no coincidence that London's dockers marched on Parliament in 1968 in support of Enoch Powell's stand on immigration.

Nonetheless, although Belloc remained a radical he did not, like many of his contemporaries, become a Fabian-style socialist. The reason for this stems from the

publication in 1891 of the Papal Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. This encyclical castigated the evils of capitalism quite categorically. It assailed "the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition." It exposed the manifest injustice of "a small number of very rich men" being "able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself."

However, *Rerum Novarum* is quite as fiercely anti-socialist as it is anti-capitalist. The basis of society was, it insisted, the family: and the encyclical views "the stable and permanent possession" of **property** as the essential ingredient of human freedom.

DANGER

The danger of capitalist society was not, as socialists supposed, that of ownership. It was that too few people owned too much. Socialism sought to deprive individuals of the power of ownership by absorbing all property into the arms of the State. *Rerum Novarum* sought, rather, a fairer distribution of property, a society in which no one was too poor to own their own home and their own little bit of land.

Above all, this encyclical laid the foundations for the political and social ideology which were at the root of Belloc's political thought for the rest of his life; an ideology which he was later to label with the name **Distributism**.

Belloc went to Oxford in January 1893 and it was in the Oxford Union, that nursery of famous politicians and statesmen, that he first entered the political arena. He made his maiden speech there in his first term. From the first, Belloc stood out as one of the most remarkable speakers that the Oxford Union had ever known.

Frequent references in the undergraduate magazine *Isis* pay tribute to Belloc's forceful eloquence: "A consistent view of almost every subject, based on intelligent and broad principles; an elaboration of forcible and easily comprehended argument; an appropriateness of phraseology adorned by an appositeness of analogy and delivered with an irresistible vehemence of utterance - each of these Mr Belloc has in greater abundance than any other member of the Society."

Belloc's oratorical prowess meant that his reputation in the Union went from strength to strength. At the end of 1894 he was elected its President.

From the earliest days Belloc was a controversial figure, and A.N. Wilson reports that he "discoursed of the Jewish Peril... with indescribable gusto and vehemence". His biographer acknowledges that these views are generally considered "unattractive" nowadays. However, Belloc's views are placed in perspective by a comparison with similar attitudes at the time which made Belloc's discourses on the Jewish question seem positively tame and timid.

For example, Raymond Asquith (son of H.H. Asquith, the future Prime Minister) was acknowledged as one of the most brilliant of a whole generation of undergraduates coming up to the University during the 1890s.

Commenting on the failure of his friends to get Fellowships, Asquith concluded that "there is no fighting the Jews; they ought to institute some form of Varsity competition for which the prize would be a slice of York ham... then perhaps we poor Gentiles should have a chance..."

"I quote these extracts from Raymond Asquith's letters" writes A.N. Wilson on page 82, "to make the point that Belloc was not alone either in his failure to get a Fellowship at All Souls' or in his fondness for strong talk about the Jews."

The controversial nature of Belloc's beliefs surfaced again at the turn of the twentieth century when he emerged as an outspoken and resolute opponent of the Boer War. His views, on the whole, were unpopular. Fabian socialists like Wells and Shaw were in favour of the war, forming a strange and unholy alliance with their erstwhile opponents on the reactionary right.



Belloc approaching his eightieth birthday, at his home in Sussex.

Belloc, however, saw the war as a blatant attack by commercial imperialism on small private landowners. As such, he supported the small Boer farmers against the Imperial aggressors.

The war was being fought, as he never tired of saying, in order to preserve the commercial interests of international speculators and investors in the mines of the Transvaal. The essence of the Pro-Boer argument was that the Boers had farmed the land in South Africa and husbanded it. Consequently, they should be allowed their autonomy rather than be forced, or bought, out by financial speculators from Europe.

Belloc, never one to beat about the bush, pointed out that a high proportion of those 'Europeans' who stood to gain by mining the gold and the diamonds in Boer farming country happened to be Jews.

Belloc's preoccupation with politics at this time, in the view of A.N. Wilson, led to the devaluation of his considerable literary achievements: "Had he chosen to devote himself wholly to letters during that decade, his reputation would, perhaps, be more solid today. For there can be no question at all that Belloc was one of the finest prose-writers of the century; one of the most distinctive minor

poets and the most accomplished practitioners of 'light' or 'comic' verse.

He is out of fashion, out of print, in most cases out of mind, not because of the quality of his literary output, but, very largely, because of the nature of his political and religious beliefs... Being in the right is not infrequently the unforgivable sin in politics... At no stage did he have any noticeable sympathy with parliamentary institutions. This angered people.

He also regarded the 'party system' as humbug, and said so. He saw increasingly little difference between the Front Benches of the Conservative and Liberal Parties; and he said so. As for the House of Lords, he was a keen abolitionist, not slow to point out the elevation to peerages of those who had made generous donations to party funds".

This appraisal of Belloc's literary genius is a fitting tribute, not least because it comes from one of today's finest novelists. However, it is

to Belloc the Radical rather than Belloc the Writer to which Britain must turn in her hour of need. His lucid analysis of the political problems confronting our Nation are even more relevant today than they were when they were written in the first quarter of the century.

In books like *The Servile State*, *The Restoration Of Property*, *The Jews*, *The Party System* and *Usury* he demolished the prevailing economic and social myths which are still believed religiously to this day.

To those who believe in the religions of capitalism and socialism Belloc is viewed as a heretic. As such, his books are ignored and largely out of print. For this reason A.N. Wilson's brilliant biography of Belloc serves as an invaluable introduction to this great Radical Romantic.

Hilaire Belloc by A.N. Wilson is available from Vanguard Publications, P.O. Box 634, Hove, East Sussex, BN3 5FZ. Price £5.95 plus £1.00 postage and packing.

IS LABOUR DEAD?

JOE PEARCE

IS THE LABOUR PARTY DEAD? Is State Socialism, as an ideology, relevant to the British people any longer? These questions have become increasingly pertinent following Labour's dismal election results.

On the face of it Labour could hardly have lost the Election. Three million still unemployed, despite systematic tinkering in the methods of calculation; a Tory party that is widely perceived with only being concerned with a well-off minority, and which knows little and cares less about the problems and worries of ordinary people; an articulate and attractive Labour leader in Neil Kinnock, replacing the ineffectually senile Michael Foot; and a Labour Election Campaign so smoothly professional that even its own supporters were surprised.

Yet in the end the Tories still breezed home with a 100 seat majority, despite losing out in Scotland, Yorkshire, the North-East and Wales. Why? Socialism is supposed to be the creed of the ordinary people, and Labour still claims to be the Party of the People. Why is it that, once again, a majority of the British people turned their backs on Socialism and the Labour Party?

Ironically and perhaps paradoxically the answer is to be found in orthodox Marxist theory.

The theory in question states that historic change is caused by changes in the underlying means of production. This, like most Marxist teaching, is a woefully inadequate simplification of reality. Nonetheless, the theory does contain an element of truth which throws some light on the underlying causes of the Labour Party's decline.

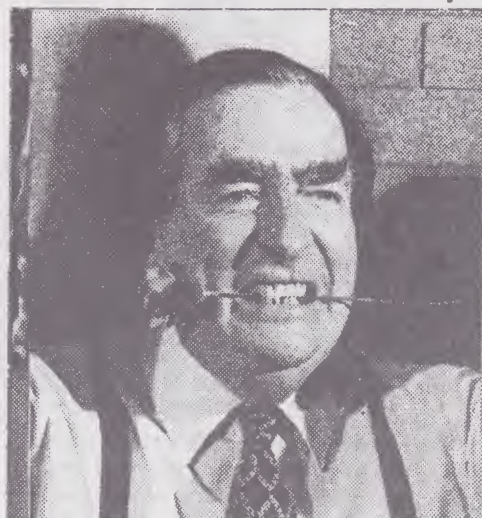
According to Marxist theory, changes in the method of production leads to changes in society of two kinds. Firstly, there is a direct change in power relationships, particularly in the power relationship of the classes. Secondly, there is an indirect change through the development of ideologies which fit the needs of the emergent class.

ENCOURAGEMENT

In the years immediately following the second world war such a theory must have given much encouragement to Marxists and Labour Party alike. During the period of Atlee's great majority in Parliament, there was a natural assumption that the emergent class was the industrial proletariat, and the emergent ideology was socialism.

However forty years on, what light does this theory shed on the present development of political change, particularly in Britain? It appears that the economic changes which produced the rise of socialism in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century are now themselves obsolete. Both the class base and the class ideology of socialism are in rapid decline. The industrial proletariat is shrinking and has given way to new class interests and ideas, based on emerging rather than declining economic circumstances.

What are these changing economic circumstances?



A Rose by any other name?

One of the principal changes is the fact that Britain is moving into a post-industrial age, brought about by the advent of new technology. Although a major reason for the decline of Britain's manufacturing base is the adherence of successive Governments, Tory and Labour alike, to the insanity of free trade, the fact remains that technological innovation means that industry must in future be less labour intensive.

Even if Britain were to protect her home economy and revive her manufacturing base, as she must do if she is to survive both economically and politically, the fact remains that fewer people will be working in manufacturing than was the case in the pre-technological age. For better or for worse, as every year passes, new technology is confining the industrial proletariat to the realms of the history book, just as the Industrial Revolution which gave birth to the proletariat is itself confined to the history book.

In fact, a major element in determining that

the Labour Party also is in the process of condemning itself to the history books can be gauged by realising that socialist ideologues have put themselves into a self-imposed, self-contained time warp. At each critical stage since the late 1950's the Labour Party has opted for the factory consciousness of the nineteenth century rather than the likely realities of the twenty-first.

The influence of this collectivist mentality can be seen in the Labour Party's approach to housing and schools. The tower blocks which Labour local authorities built are, in Corbusier's infamous phrase, 'machines for living'. The comprehensive schools are factory schools, machines for mass education, aimed at producing uniform (though not uniformed!) educational (though not educated!) units. Where the new class wanted choice, Labour imposed uniformity.

WITHERING

The Labour Party still has substantial support both from factory and similar workers. But that support is withering away as the numbers in such employment fall. Robots do not have votes.

However, if the industrial proletariat, Labour's traditional support base, is in irreversible decline, what of the new class that is replacing it?

The truth is, of course, that there isn't one specific new class, wholly separate from all others, which has emerged in the wake of the proletariat's decline. Rather there is a multitude, a myriad of social classes, rendering Marxist class categorisation, like so much else in Marxist teaching, over-simplified and totally inadequate.

Nonetheless, it is possible to define broad class groupings by a measurement of social and economic trends.

For instance, when Mrs Thatcher came to power in 1979, 52% of the population owned their own homes. Eight years on, two in every three people are now owner-occupiers — an increase of fourteen percentage points since 1979. In the same period, the number of council tenants has fallen from 35% to 27%.

Similarly, since 1979, there has been a marked increase in the number of people owning shares in the wake of Tory privatisation policy. In 1984, before the flotation of British Telecom only one in twenty owned shares. Today, that figure is one in five.

Another major change since 1979 is the drop in the number of people in trade unions. The number of trade unionists has fallen by eight per cent in the last eight years.

Regardless of whether the trends are healthy or otherwise, they all have one overriding common denominator. They all represent a shrinking of Labour's

support base. It is statistically proven that owner occupiers, shareholders and non-trade unionists are far less likely to vote Labour.

In desperation, the Labour Party and the Marxist left in general, are turning their back on their traditional, if shrinking, support base. Instead they are concentrating on wooing various minorities, either black, brown or homosexual. The reasoning behind this is that a coalition of minorities, if added to the significant though smaller industrial proletariat, will constitute a majority capable of winning power.

Unfortunately for the Labour Party, however, the bulk of what remains of the industrial proletariat is, using Labour's own terminology, both racist and heterosexual. Thus, by courting minorities, Labour must, of necessity, divorce itself from the white working class.

This process can be gauged by the fall in Labour support caused by the antics of the so-called 'looney-left' and, more recently, by the controversy over black sections. Quite simply, Labour's love affair with the alien has alienated the British worker.

In short, and returning to the original assertion, the Labour Party is dead. There is very little chance of Labour ever forming another Government.

QUESTION

Yet this assertion begs another question. If Labour is dead, where does that leave the political situation in Britain? More specifically, where does Labour's demise leave the National Front?

The most immediate impact is likely to be the disaffection of whole sections of the industrial proletariat, so called, who will come to realise that they have no voice in Parliament. Indeed, they will have no voice on two counts.

Firstly, they will see that the Labour rump in the House of Commons represents various minorities alien to them, with different aspirations and different needs. Labour will become more and more 'loony' and less and less representative of the interests of the British working man. The inevitability of the alienation can be seen by comparing the chasm which exists between the white working class in areas of Scotland, the North-East, Yorkshire and Wales with West Indian rioters on the one hand and Hampstead 'gay' socialists on the other. They are as different as chalk and cheese or, perhaps more appropriately, rock cakes and fairy cakes.

Secondly, once the white working class realises that Labour's chances of regaining office have disintegrated they will desert Labour by the million, in the same way the Liberal voters deserted their party by the million in the 1920s. They will enter a political wilderness looking for someone to represent them.

A dispossessed proletariat is unlikely to derive much comfort from the pseudo-capitalists of the Liberal/SDP Alliance and, it goes without saying, most wouldn't even dream of voting Conservative. The only natural home for such a dispossessed and disaffected proletariat is a radical Nationalist party like the National Front.

But what of the new, upwardly mobile classes? What of the growing number of owner-occupiers and small businessmen?

Owner-occupiers, like small businessmen, should form a natural support base for the

National Front. Firstly, our whole economic and social philosophy is geared to small property and to the preservation and reinstitution of the right of **everyone** to own the place where they live and at least a share of ownership in the place where they work. Secondly, owner-occupiers, like small businessmen have no more in common with the multi-national capitalism of the Tory Party than do their fellow countrymen who form the ranks of the dispossessed working class.

In conclusion it can be seen that only the National Front can unite and represent the nation as a whole. The NF has always known this but now the impending death of the Labour Party may give us the opportunity to prove it. As Labour dies we will be dancing on its grave because out of these particular Labour pains may be born a new Britain.



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Spotlight on Germany

'A FEW days ago a new election party of the German Right, the German People's Union, was formed, with support from the NPD, DVU e. V. and numerous other associations and personalities. This new Election Partnership will be taking part at Bremen's Municipal Elections on September 13th, 1987. In this historical hour I am turning to you and beg for your active support...'

With these words Dr. Gerhard Frey informed supporters nationwide of the new electoral partnership of which he is a leading light. Through the medium of the new German People's Union Dr Frey is attempting to create a 'National Alliance' in Germany and in so doing he hopes to speed up the process of overcoming the 5% hurdle in local elections and hopefully the next General Election.

The German constitution, with its proportional representation and campaign funding by Government after a 5% election success, makes it relatively easy for Nationalist parties in Germany to achieve moderate gains. This being so, and with the upturn in votes for the NPD during recent elections, it is hoped that the German People's Union will enjoy considerable support in September's Municipal Elections.

ALTERNATIVE

Meanwhile, in a leaflet entitled "The Right Alternative Germany Has Been Waiting For Is Here" (*Die recht Alternative auf die Deutschland wartete ist da*) the German People's Union has listed "the main demands of the German people". These are:

"Germany for the Germans. Stop further immigration by legions of alien people. Limit the proportion of foreigners in the population. Extradite criminal foreigners and fraudulent "asylum seekers". German jobs for German workers.

"Germany first. Concentrate policies towards the re-unification of Germany as laid down in the constitution. German Unity must have precedence over EEC aspirations because a West European Union could hinder German re-unification.

"Protection of life. Fight against the misuse of abortion, which annually costs hundreds of thousands of unborn lives. An end to abortion on the National Health. Generous help from the German state for German families and mothers who have fallen into social distress.

"Equal rights for the German Nation. Put an end to the continual attribution of guilt. Stop the persecution of only the defeated of the Second World War by declaring a well overdue amnesty.

"Protection for the honour of German soldiers who died for their country. Tougher sentences for all those who violate soldiers' graves and those who bring our war dead into disrepute."

These five demands are followed by a call to arms: "Every German who treasures justice and freedom for our people and wishes good fortune to future generations in a free Germany is asked to support the German People's Union."

Indeed, the German People's Union is already laying the foundations for its election campaign in Bremen during September. For

MAX WAGEGG examines one of the recent developments on the Nationalist scene in Europe: the formation of a new political party in Germany - the German People's Union.

instance, the *Deutscher Anzeiger* reported on April 17th that the German People's Union intended to bring a citizens' proposal to the provincial government under article 17 of the constitutional law and the petition law of the city of Bremen. Dr Gerhard Frey announced this intention in a letter which was sent to the whole population of Bremen province. The letter also asked the people of Bremen to answer 'yes' or 'no' to the following questions:

"Are you of the opinion that there are too many foreigners in Bremen and Bramerhaven?

"Do you believe that the Senate should take constitutional measures to limit the number of foreigners entering Germany?

"Should fake asylum seekers and criminal aliens be deported?

"Are you in favour of health controls on entry for foreigners who come from territories with a high incidence of contagious diseases, like Aids?

"Do you believe that foreigners should have the right to vote?

"Do you believe that German workers should be considered for jobs before foreigners?

"Do you believe that there should be a considerable reduction in the amount of payments made to foreign organisations like the EEC?"

Dr Frey's letter brought an angry and fanatical response from political opponents and multi-racialists in Bremen. "Dr Frey To The Gallows!" Fanatics Against the German People's Union. ("Dr. Frey an den Galgen!? Fanatiker gegen Deutscher Volksunion) screamed the headline in the following edition of the *Deutscher Anzeiger*.

The *Anzeiger* reported that among the thousands of replies to the citizens' proposal there were some from opponents whose fanaticism went miles overboard. Typically,

however, all the gross insults and threats were sent anonymously.

Dr Frey was threatened to be hanged, beheaded, put into a gas chamber and blown up!

CONSTRUCTIVE

Thankfully, these multi-racial fanatics were a mindless minority and most replies were far more constructive. For example, some concerned citizens expressed the fear that proposals to limit immigration could lead to Germany becoming politically isolated.

By way of reply, the German People's Union pointed out that Switzerland had recently held a referendum which decided that immigration should be limited drastically. Also, countries such as Denmark and Belgium had also undertaken steps to limit the influx of aliens.

Addressing itself to the problem of Turkish immigration into Germany, the German People's Union also pointed out that Turkey too would introduce immigration controls if it were threatened with massive alien immigration.

On a more encouraging note, thousands of Bremen townspeople declared themselves in support of the citizens' proposal with their full names and addresses. Others were in favour but preferred to remain nameless for fear of reprisals from Reds in Bremen.

Talking of Reds, the German gutter press were quick to denounce Dr Frey's initiative in Bremen. Headlines talked of "new right extremism" and "turmoil over letters with neo-Nazi tendencies". Meanwhile, Marxist-dominated trade unions protested against the mass postal distribution of German People's Union literature, and a new "anti-fascist" group was formed to fight what they called a "dangerous development".

Dr Frey's citizens' proposal dominated the headlines of the Bremen press. Local TV and radio stations also gave extensive coverage.


During a heated debate in the provincial parliament, the SPD delegate, a Mr Leineman, demanded that the "neo-Nazis" should not be allowed to stand for the elections. He was enthusiastically joined in this undemocratic demand by Michael Teiser, his Christian Democrat Union counterpart.

Amongst the most fanatical rabble rousers against the German People's Union is an "Anti-Fascist League". Ironically the Anti-Fascist League organised a public burning of Dr Frey's letter, reminiscent of Nazi book burning in the thirties!

But in the meantime the letter boxes bulge at the German People's Union offices in Bremen and Bramerhaven. Thousands of townsmen and townswomen of Bremen have supported the citizens' proposal. The German People's Union sees in the imposing response the confirmation of their conviction that most people are singularly unimpressed by the undemocratic baiting of the Reds and multi-racialists.

No doubt Nationalists in Germany and Britain alike will watch the election results in September with interest.

ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS AND NAILING THE MYTHS



**100 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
ABOUT THE NATIONAL FRONT**

by Ian Anderson

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

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MIAMI VICE

Dear Ed,

It was with great interest that I read Steve Brady's article **Miami Vice** in **Vanguard** no. 7.

The full story of corruption, naivety, duplicity and sheer stupidity actually goes well beyond his article however.

In one line he says that, "in May 1980 the cities' Blacks rioted . . ." He then went on and in the next paragraph described its anti-white nature.

All very true - the riot was sparked off by a jury clearing four white police officers of beating to death a black, and during the night of Saturday 17th May 1980 the country's worst race riot since the sixties erupted. It was not widely reported for as chance would have it Mt. St. Helens also decided to erupt a few hours later. Rumours of police brutality had been circulating for weeks and more riots were precipitated by the arrest of the city's leading black, a city official, on a corruption charge.

Although the focus of the blacks ire was seen to be the whites the real cause was in fact the mounting Cuban invasion, as was discreetly acknowledged in the American press, somewhat more loudly by the blacks themselves and over here by Alistair Cooke.

In one month alone over 70,000 Cubans were dumped on the beaches of Key West, reaching an eventual total of 118,000 as Steve pointed out, (that's a population bigger than that of the Isle of Wight). Castro opened his jails and waved goodbye to the inmates with the words, "Good riddance to the trash and the criminals and the perverts."

When the first boats dropped their human cargoes off President Jimmy Carter was there to greet them with the well worn words, "We welcome them with open heart and open arms". He then shot off to Washington leaving Miami to get on with it. Carter's administration had defined Castro's crud as political refugees; exiles, in order to sidestep the quota limits of its own new Refugee Act, passed a mere six weeks before!

At first this deluge humiliated the blacks as the newcomers took their jobs and muscled in on their patches. This humiliation turned very quickly to resentment and finally outrage as the deluge turned to a permanent flood swelling the cities hispanic population to over a third of its total.

Unfortunately for the American dream, but nonetheless entirely predictably, the refugee influx was so interested in Miami's material goodies that it didn't really give a damn how it got them or at whose expense; a Hollywood film called "Scarface" featured this very point.

For every white victim there must have been many more blacks, simply on the basis of

availability. In the end all the blacks could do was burn, loot and shoot; just for the record a lot of the so-called white victims of the riots were actually Hispanics.

The Miami blacks rioted exactly as the Harlem blacks did in the sixties when the incoming Puerto Ricans challenged their position. Miami's riots did the blacks there some good perhaps, they moved up in the city's hierarchy when the whites moved out. The fact that it became a cesspit of corruption and chaos shouldn't really surprise anyone.

There is a parallel here with Britain. Britain's black population is openly hostile to the Asian element and it was Asian property that went up in flames in Handsworth, Bristol and Tottenham by and large.

This point has not been lost on the Asians: most of them are here not as immigrants from their racial heartlands at all but courtesy of the "negative hospitality" shown them in Kenya, Malawi and Uganda. South Africa has an Asian population of over a million, and these Asians have already clashed with the black Africans in the recent spates of violence.

They clashed before in 1949 and it took White troops to separate them then. If the Asians like Idi Amin . . . they're gonna love Nelson Mandela! What is going to happen when and if South Africa turns to black rule and the Asians end up in this country under some misguided liberal sleight of hand as they undoubtedly will?

I have a feeling that our racial riots are only just beginning.

Yours sincerely,
James Hall,
West London.

CELTIC CROSS - NO

Dear Editor,

In response to your editorial note on the Celtic Cross I would like to put forward what I believe to be a different, but even more important reason, for rejecting what many members perceive to be a piece of potentially damaging imagery.

Over the years we in the NF (and some BNP members) have proved to be the only political people fit to use the Union flag as a symbol of what we represent - a united British Nation. If we now introduce the Celtic Cross into our publicity material we immediately put ourselves in danger, everyday people will not be able to relate to a symbol which is effectively alien to them, and many people, not least the media, would interpret it as an image reminiscent of Nazi Germany.

I noticed that Birmingham Branch, who are doing so well lately, produced a brilliant banner for St. George's Day depicting a red rose with the words 'For England, Not Labour' - spot on!

English branches could adopt the Rose as their branch symbol - why let Labour hijack what rightfully belongs to patriots? As for Scotland, Wales and Ulster, what is wrong with the Lion Rampant, the Red Dragon and the Red Hand?

To summarise, we already have the Union flag and various other symbols which our countrymen can identify with. Why use a largely forgotten symbol which could cause problems, and already creates some internal disputes?

Yours faithfully,
Dave Smith,
(A half-Celt, half Anglo-Saxon,) Surrey.

CELTIC CROSS - YES

Nationalist Greetings Vanguard,

Regarding the issue stated in **Vanguard** No. 9 "Should the Celtic Cross be used as a symbol of British Nationalism?"

I have given this matter a lot of thought and I think that not only should the Celtic Cross be used as a symbol of British Nationalism but also it should be promoted as such.

The amount of enthusiasm and interest that the Celtic Cross generates amongst the members especially the youth in our movement is astonishing. British Nationalism was given a new lease of life when the National Front adopted the Celtic Cross.

In the forthcoming years the Battle for Britain will draw ever nearer and I think the Celtic Cross will instill hope and courage into our members and will hopefully guide us in our hours of turmoil which lie ahead.

Perhaps if Vanguard were to publish a series of articles concerning the Celtic Cross i.e. its meanings etc. then maybe more people would appreciate it's relevance to British Nationalism!

Racial Regards,
Paul O'Brien,
Coventry.

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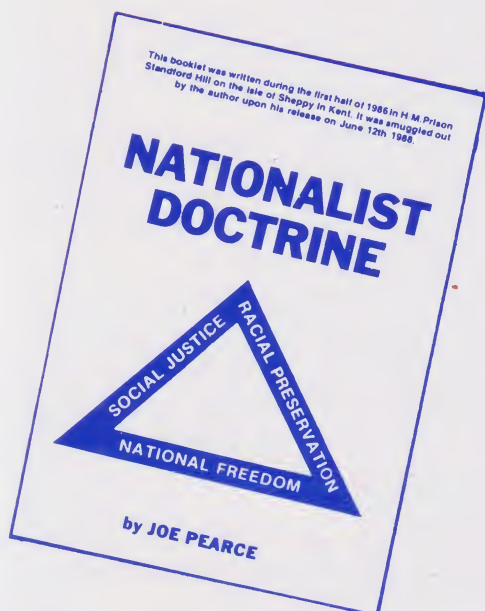
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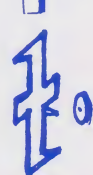
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If you want to give your active support to the Nationalist struggle then the best way you can help is to join your local branch of the National Front, and work to advance the cause in your home town, borough or village.

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Bristol	Dudley &
Harrogate	Brierley Hill
Norwich	Coventry
Gt. Yarmouth	Wolverhampton
Newcastle	Greenwich
Milton Keynes	
Hackney.	